

SOCIAL CONDITIONS
IN
DOMESTIC SERVICE.

PREPARED BY THE
MASSACHUSETTS BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR
IN COLLABORATION

WITH
WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL
UNION OF BOSTON.

[REPRINT FROM MASSACHUSETTS LABOR BULLETIN, No. 18,
FEBRUARY, 1900.]

BOSTON :
WRIGHT & POTTER PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS,
18 POST OFFICE SQUARE.
1900.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS
IN
DOMESTIC SERVICE.

PREPARED BY THE
MASSACHUSETTS BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR
IN COLLABORATION

WITH
WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL
UNION OF BOSTON.

[REPRINT FROM MASSACHUSETTS LABOR BULLETIN, No. 13,
FEBRUARY, 1900.]

BOSTON :
WRIGHT & POTTER PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS,
18 POST OFFICE SQUARE.
1900.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN DOMESTIC SERVICE.

Some time ago the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, of Boston, began a series of systematic inquiries relating to the problem of domestic service. The results of one branch of its investigations were, by co-operation with the Union, tabulated by this Bureau and presented in the Bulletin for October, 1898.

The present article is, in the same way, based upon another portion of the work, covering an investigation especially relating to the social environment of the domestic servant, conducted for the Union by Miss Mary W. Dewson. The purpose of the inquiries upon this point was the collection of exact data which would show without bias the present social opportunities, the limitations, and the prevailing conditions, that affect the life of the domestic upon its social side. What opportunities has she for improvement in education, what amusements and recreations, what ways of spending her leisure time?

Industrially her position is peculiar. She is in the family, but not of it. The service required of her is of the highest importance to the peace and comfort of her employer, but her work is considered inferior in many ways to that of other self-supporting women. To raise the social standards of those in domestic service, to dignify and elevate, if possible, this kind of employment, would remove one of the barriers which now deter workingwomen from voluntarily accepting it.

The purpose of this article should not be misunderstood, nor should the subject be treated in a trivial or unsympathetic way. No criticism is intended, either direct or implied, of either mistress or servant. The fragmentary character of the data, and the comparatively limited field covered by the inquiries may be at once admitted. It is, however, beyond question that while certain social opportunities are enjoyed by those who are employed in the factory or the shop, due, in a measure, to unity of action on the part of the workers and to generally accepted customs growing out of the employment, in domestic service there is neither uniformity of privilege nor recognized social status.

There is neither the clear recognition of mutual responsibility and reciprocal rights and duties which marked the old relation of mistress and servant, nor the equally well-defined relations which in industrial or mercantile employment exist between employer and employé. The domestic has ceased to be a servant as that term was formerly used; she has not yet become an employé, as that term is now used in industrial occupations.

It is not expected that difficulties which are everywhere admitted to exist can be removed merely by the accumulation of data; but any solution of the problem must rest upon full knowledge of its conditions. It is the portrayal of these conditions that concentrates attention, and stimulates endeavor to improve them.

The character of the families from which the information was obtained is indicated by the following table showing the number of servants per family :

NUMBER OF SERVANTS IN EACH FAMILY.	Number of Families having Specified Number of Servants	NUMBER OF SERVANTS IN EACH FAMILY.	Number of Families having Specified Number of Servants
One servant,	109	Five servants,	1
Two servants,	49	Six servants,	1
Three servants,	14		
Four servants,	7	TOTAL,	181

Out of the whole number of families, 181, there were but 23 in which more than two persons were employed. In 109 families only one was employed. Obviously, the picture presented by the answers to the inquiries is mainly that of the social life of the domestic servant in families which are undoubtedly in the majority in any American community, namely, those in which one or at most two servants are expected to perform the various household duties.

The ages of the employés covered by the investigation are presented in the following table, the total number, 231, being classified in four groups including, respectively, 54 cooks, 116 engaged in general housework, 24 parlor and chamber maids, etc., and 37 so-called second girls :

APPROXIMATE AGES.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
17 years,	-	-	1	-	1
18 years,	-	2	-	4	6
19 years,	-	2	1	2	5
20 years,	1	7	1	3	12
21 years,	1	8	-	5	14

APPROXIMATE AGES.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
22 years,	2	12	1	4	19
23 years,	3	14	1	7	25
24 years,	3	10	-	2	15
25 years,	3	16	4	3	26
26 years,	1	8	1	1	11
27 years,	3	5	2	1	11
28 years,	4	7	2	1	14
29 years,	1	1	1	1	4
30 years,	8	7	-	2	17
31 years,	-	1	-	-	1
32 years,	2	1	-	-	3
33 years,	1	-	1	-	2
34 years,	2	1	1	-	4
35 years,	3	3	2	-	8
36 years,	-	-	1	-	1
37 years,	-	1	-	-	1
38 years,	-	1	-	-	1
40 years,	5	2	1	-	8
41 years,	-	1	-	-	1
42 years,	-	1	-	-	1
45 years,	5	2	1	-	8
46 years,	-	1	-	-	1
50 years,	-	-	1	1	2
54 years,	1	-	-	-	1
55 years,	2	1	-	-	3
65 years,	1	1	-	-	2
Age unknown,	2	-	1	-	3
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

The classification shows that the leading branches of household service are represented in the returns, the numbers in the different groups each bearing a relation to the total which probably fairly corresponds to the relation which the total number of persons of each designation in any given community bears to the aggregate number employed in domestic service in that community; the employes in general housework being most numerous, the cooks ranking next, and the other groups following in considerably smaller numbers not greatly dissimilar from each other.

As to ages, although the range is wide, namely from 17 to 65 years, the majority were between 20 and 30 years of age, only 12 being under 20, and but 48 above 30 years of age. Only one of the second girls was above 30; while none of the cooks were under 20, and but 10 under 25. On the other hand, 22 of the 54 cooks were over 30, a much larger proportion than appears in any other class; indicating, possibly, a tendency to remain in service longer when the character of the service is specialized and dependent somewhat upon skill. This point is indicated more forcibly in the next table which shows the number of years in service of the persons included in the investigation.

APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF YEARS IN DOMESTIC SERVICE.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
1 year or less,	1	6	2	4	13
2 years,	1	15	3	4	23
3 years,	2	17	-	4	23
4 years,	-	12	1	4	17
5 years,	7	9	1	4	21
6 years,	1	10	1	1	13
7 years,	4	5	2	2	13
8 years,	3	8	1	2	14
9 years,	2	-	2	1	5
10 years,	11	8	2	4	25
Over 10 but under 15 years,	4	6	1	-	11
15 but under 20 years,	4	6	1	-	11
20 but under 25 years,	5	4	2	-	11
25 but under 30 years,	2	2	1	-	5
30 years and over,	2	1	-	1	4
Unknown,	5	7	4	6	22
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

In all, 22 persons appear for whom information on the point covered by the table is lacking. For 209, however, the table is complete, and of those who have been employed in domestic service 10 years or more than 10 years, namely 67, there were 28 among the cooks and 27 among the employés in general housework. But the 28 cooks represent about 57 per cent of the whole number of cooks whose period of service was known, while the 27 in general housework represent but about 25 per cent of the whole number of that class for whom the information was ascertained.

Nearly one-half the entire number of employés for whom the information is complete, namely 97 out of 209, return a period of service not exceeding five years. Averages, however, based on this table and on that relating to ages previously presented, are, for the period of service, about eight years; and for the age of the employé, between 27 and 28 years.

Information as to wages appears in the next table.

WEEKLY WAGES.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
\$2.00	-	1	-	-	1
2.50	-	-	1	-	1
2.75	-	1	-	-	1
3.00	-	18	-	7	25
3.25	1	2	2	-	5
3.50	4	36	2	8	50
4.00	12	46	8	15	81
4.25	-	-	1	-	1
4.50	14	6	5	6	31
4.75	1	1	-	-	2
5.00	16	5	3	1	25
5.50	-	-	1	-	1
6.00	5	-	1	-	6
6.50	1	-	-	-	1
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

The most numerous wage classes comprise 25 out of 231, the entire number, who received \$3 per week; 50 who were paid \$3.50; 81 at \$4; 31 at \$4.50; and 25 at \$5. Only three employes received less than \$3; while 66 received \$4.50 or more. One was paid \$6.50; six, \$6; and one, \$5.50. As might be expected, the wages of the cooks range highest, only about 31 per cent of the entire number receiving a wage as low as \$4. The average wage, the entire number of employes being considered, was \$4; for the cooks alone, \$4.62; for the employes in general housework, \$3.72; for the parlor and chamber maids, etc., \$4.22; and for the second girls, \$3.81.

These figures are undoubtedly somewhat above those which would appear in localities more remote from Boston or any large city. When it is remembered that board is in every case included in addition to the money wage, the aggregate recompense for the week's service per employé does not suffer by comparison, if there were no other factors to be considered, with wages paid in stores or factories, to women of average capacity.

One other table containing personal data remains to be presented. It relates to the place of birth of the persons covered by the investigation, and appears below.

PLACE OF BIRTH.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
<i>Native Born.</i>	4	17	9	5	35
Massachusetts,	1	4	2	-	7
Other New England States,	1	1	-	-	2
Other States,	2	12	7	5	26
<i>Foreign Born.</i>	50	99	15	32	196
British America,	14	27	3	10	54
Canada,	-	2	1	-	3
New Brunswick,	1	1	-	1	3
Newfoundland,	-	3	-	-	3
Nova Scotia,	11	14	1	8	34
Prince Edward Island,	2	7	1	1	11
France,	-	-	1	-	1
Germany,	-	-	1	-	1
Great Britain,	2	5	2	1	10
England,	-	1	1	1	3
Scotland,	2	4	1	-	7
Ireland,	32	54	8	19	113
Other Countries,	2	13	-	2	17
<i>Aggregates.</i>	54	116	24	37	231
Native born,	4	17	9	5	35
Foreign born,	50	99	15	32	196

The table does not go beyond the personal nativity of the employé. It classes as native born all who were born in the United States without regard to the nativity of parents. Of this class, there were but 35, however, out of the 231. Only seven out of the whole number were born in

Massachusetts and only two in other New England States. The foreign born numbered 196, including 113 born in Ireland, 54 in British America, and 10 in Great Britain. Of the natives of British America, 34 were born in Nova Scotia and 11 in Prince Edward Island.

In the social life of the domestic servant the church, as will appear, occupies a prominent place. Practically all these employés claim a church connection with some one of the various religious bodies. The facts upon this point are brought out in the next table.

CHURCH ATTENDED.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
Roman Catholic,	39	73	16	27	155
Protestant,	14	42	8	10	74
Baptist,	4	7	1	3	15
Congregationalist,	1	3	2	1	7
Episcopal,	1	1	2	1	5
Lutheran,	2	4	-	2	8
Methodist,	-	7	1	-	8
Presbyterian,	6	9	2	3	20
Swedish Mission,	-	2	-	-	2
Not stated,	-	9	-	-	9
Unknown,	1	1	-	-	2
AGGREGATES,	54	116	24	37	231
Roman Catholic,	39	73	16	27	155
Protestant,	14	42	8	10	74
Unknown,	1	1	-	-	2

Of the whole number, 231, there were 155 Roman Catholics, 74 Protestants, and two persons whose religion was unknown. The Protestant denominations represented were Baptist, 15 ; Congregationalist, seven ; Episcopal, five ; Lutheran, eight ; Methodist, eight ; Presbyterian, 20 ; Swedish Mission, two ; in nine cases the denomination was not stated.

The number of religious services attended weekly is next shown.

NUMBER OF RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND MEETINGS ATTENDED WEEKLY.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
One service,	35	47	13	20	115
Two services,	12	50	7	13	82
Three services,	2	8	-	3	13
Four services,	1	2	2	-	5
None,	3	6	1	-	10
Unknown,	1	3	1	1	6
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

The number attending but one religious service each week was 115 ; two services, 82 ; three services, 13 ; four services, five. Only 10 were

reported as non-attendants, while the facts were ascertained for all except six of the entire number covered by the investigation.

Upon the social, as distinct from the religious side of life, the church exerts its influence. Inquiry as to the extent of this influence, especially as to the number of social meetings connected with the church, which were attended by the persons covered by the investigation, brought a variety of answers.

In the first place, the information was unobtainable with respect to 79. As to the others, 85, including 17 cooks, 46 in general housework, 11 parlor and chamber maids, etc., and 11 second girls, attend no meetings of the kind. The remaining number, 67, avail themselves to a greater or less extent of the various church sociables, fairs, lawn parties, picnics, concerts under church management, sewing circles, church suppers, etc., which are held from time to time. Disregarding the 79 for whom no answer was returned, and basing conclusions on the information furnished for the others, 152 in number, the replies show that the distinctly social life fostered by the church, as expressed in parties and social meetings of different kinds, reached 44.08 per cent, while 55.92 per cent had no part in it. The detailed answers thus summarized are hardly susceptible of tabular presentation owing to their variety and the minor differences which they exhibit; but they support the general conclusions stated.

What opportunities are offered for intellectual improvement? Before summarizing the replies which permit general statements upon this point, the following table is introduced indicating the character and amount of education which the employés had received:

CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATION RECEIVED.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
Can read,	-	2	-	-	2
Can read and write,	10	17	1	5	33
Common or grammar school,	21	50	14	16	101
Elementary,	-	2	-	2	4
Limited,	10	26	2	7	45
Normal school,	-	-	-	1	1
One year in high school,	-	-	1	-	1
Two years in high school,	-	1	-	-	1
Very good,	2	4	1	1	8
None,	1	5	-	1	7
Not stated,	7	5	4	3	19
Unknown,	3	4	1	1	9
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

For 28 persons the information upon the point covered by this table was either unknown or not given. In the case of two the replies indicated the ability to read only, and in the case of 33 education was practically confined to the ability to read and write. There were 101 who had

received either a common or grammar school education, four for whom the reply was "elementary," meaning probably a limited amount of school instruction, and 45 others for whom "limited" was explicitly used to describe the education received. In eight instances the education was said to be very good, while in one case the employé had attended a normal school; in one, one year had been spent in a high school; and in one other, two years in a high school.

This summary fairly exhibits the status as to education of the persons covered by the investigation before entering the families in which they were employed. We may now pass to a consideration of the opportunities afforded while in service for further advancement, under the conditions which surround and control the servant. The replies will, in the main, be summarized in text without the introduction of tables.

In response to an inquiry as to whether the employé had ever expressed a desire for more education, the answer was no, in 167 cases; and yes, in 34. No reply was given with respect to 28, and in two instances the inquiry was unknown. Eliminating the unknown or unresponsive cases, it will be seen that 201 remain. Of these, 83.08 per cent have never expressed a desire for more education than that already received, while 16.92 per cent have expressed such a desire or are engaged in study.

It was asked if the servant might attend an evening school regularly if she wished to do so. The reply in 155 instances was yes, and in 37, no. In 39 instances the question was not answered or the answer did not convey conclusive information.

It does not by any means follow that no higher education is desired merely because the employé has never expressed this desire. In many cases, no doubt, an expression upon this point has never been invited, and if not invited would not be likely to be expressed. The fact that opportunities for acquiring more education, such as those offered in the evening schools, are not embraced, is perhaps more conclusive as to the real attitude of the employé; but there are, of course, deterrent circumstances to be considered, such as the natural tendency to use leisure time for rest and recreation as an offset to the work of the day, the disinclination to attend a school, especially in company with others much younger (not unusual in persons of adult years), the absence of an incentive to study, the lack of appreciation of any special advantage to be gained by it, and, in many cases, no doubt, the absence of any sympathetic advice or stimulating impulse toward improvement, such as might be supplied by others.

The schedule contained inquiries as to how much opportunity for reading and what kind of reading was open to the employés. In 145 instances the replies indicated that they read little; in 10 others, not at all; while in five cases they could not read. In 66 instances, however, the reply was that considerable reading was done.

As to the character of the reading, newspapers and magazines were available to the employés and read by them in 130 instances ; newspapers only in 55 additional cases. Reading of this kind was seldom done in 11 cases ; never in 19 ; and in 16 cases the replies were not definite or conclusive.

The replies as to the kinds of books which were read were so various as to make any simple generalization impossible. The more prominent may be given, however. In 33 instances no books were read, and in 57 no answer was given to the question. In eight others the reply was that the facts were unknown. The replies that remain number 133. Of these, 26 read religious books and papers ; five, the bible ; two rely upon the Sunday school library ; one, religious books and standard fiction ; and as to eight others the replies indicate that, although other literature is included, the bible and religious books are chiefly read. It may be said therefore, that the reading of books was mainly confined to this branch in 42 instances, out of the 133 who were definitely known to read books at all. Cook books apparently comprised either all or nearly all that were read in three instances. Nearly all the others are reported to read fiction only, the exceptions being so few as to be easily noted. In two or three cases history, either of the United States or England, seemed to be preferred. In one, a philosophical or critical work was mentioned ; in one, the works of Goethe and Schiller and the poems of Homer were specified ; and in one, the Chautauqua course was followed.

The kinds of fiction mentioned ranged from children's books to the novels of George Eliot, Dumas, Dickens, Thackeray, Victor Hugo, and Eugene Sue. In a few cases the reading of novels was supplemented by the works of Shakspeare. No especial prominence was given in the replies, so far as would be implied by a concentration of numbers, to the works of any particular author, or to any particular branch of fiction, for example, romance, as against any other. In seven instances preference for "light" novels was indicated ; in three, "good" novels were expressly mentioned ; in one the answer excluded "trash," while in one the servant was said to read "any book lying around the house."

The question was asked, "Is the servant offered access to the library (of the employer) or given newspapers?" To this, the reply was yes in 155 cases out of 231. On the other hand, 13 said no. Of the other replies, 36 indicate that so far as relates to newspapers only the privilege was extended ; two reply "not without permission ;" five that the servant does not care for books ; nine did not reply to the question, or stated that the servant could not read ; and the few remaining answers indicate a partial or conditional extension of the privilege.

A question slightly different but touching the same point was, "Would the library privilege be given if she cared to use it?" To this, 144 replied yes ; 34, no ; six returned the answer "possibly ;" 13, "not without restriction ;" in 33 instances no specific answer was given to this

question, but in 21 of these it had been stated previously that the servant was already given access to the library. In one case the employer "would prefer to select for her."

There are now published several excellent works intended to promote the efficiency of domestic service, and there are also periodicals devoted to a similar purpose. Inquiry was made as to whether any of these were placed in the servant's hands by the employer. Out of the 231 instances covered by the investigation, 133 replied no; 39 did not reply; and 20 replied yes. In the other cases, 39 in number, the possession of such books on the part of the servant was indicated, including in two cases a complete kitchen library.

It was asked if the servant used the public library. Only 20 replied yes; 193 replied no; and in 18 instances the answer was either inconclusive or omitted. To the further inquiry as to whether the employer had ever suggested getting a public library card for the employé, the answer, in 155 cases, was no; 36 replied yes; in three instances it was said that such a card had been procured; in two others the servant had a card, presumably procured by herself; in four, she was said to be insufficiently educated to care for one; in eight, an over-supply of good reading material already in the house was given as a reason for not obtaining a card; and in 23 instances no reply was made.

Various other ways of supplying the servant with reading matter were mentioned in the replies, besides the unrestricted use of the private library of the employer or of the public library. In 97 cases no other way was mentioned; in 15 others no other way was known, and in 58 it was distinctly stated that there was no other way available. But in nearly all the remaining instances, 61 in number, other ways of obtaining books or papers are mentioned, many indicating the purchase or subscription of the books or papers on the part of the employé, or the obtaining of reading matter by loans from relatives or friends.

When not on duty what opportunities for enjoyment are open? First, within the house. Can the servant play upon any musical instrument? To this the replies are: No, 197 instances, nearly the whole number; think not, in three; no reply, 12; unknown, seven; yes, 12, including piano, four; accordion, two; harmonica, guitar, and piano with organ also, one each.

Is she permitted to play upon a musical instrument in the house? Fifteen only say yes; two reply, yes, if she cared to; two, yes, if she asked permission; one, yes, if she disturbed no one; 88 would not permit such a privilege; and 123 make no reply, the point probably never having arisen as the replies to the previous question indicate but little ability to play on the part of the employés.

Does the servant care for instruction in chorus singing? Only 14 reply yes, while 131 say no. The other replies are indefinite or not conclusive.

This question was asked because chorus classes are generally appreciated by working girls who have musical ability. Apparently, opportunity is not lacking as many popular classes are open. The small number of affirmative replies is unexpected. Is the servant less musical than the shop girl or has she never been directed toward this form of recreation or her interest aroused? Or is there some other barrier?

Does she play cards? To this, 71 say "very little;" 10, "some;" 22 others, "yes;" while 101 say "not at all." The other replies are not definite or no information upon the point was reported.

Is she permitted to entertain visitors? As to restrictions limiting women callers, 199 replies out of the 231 are: "Not any." As to restrictions upon men callers 188 give the same answer. Disregarding a few instances in which no reply was made to the question, the remaining comparatively small number of cases indicates that under restrictions more or less close a limited number of visitors of either sex is permitted. The restrictions reported would seldom or never be objected to by any self-respecting girl. They are, in general, such as are intended to prevent interference with work; for example, confining the privilege to certain hours or parts of the day or certain specified days in the week; or such as are thought necessary to insure early retiring or to prevent an abuse of the privilege, that is, specifying an hour in the evening beyond which visitors are not permitted to remain, or restricting the number of visitors which is allowed. The really significant point in the replies, however, is that in 86.15 per cent of the cases no restrictions are made as to women visitors and in 81.39 per cent of the cases the same statement is made as to men. The conclusion seems unavoidable that in a considerable proportion of the cases in which the employés had visitors, the privilege had been abused so little that in the main no explicit restrictions were required. This makes interesting the statistics as to the number of visitors which is entertained, shown in the following table:

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEN CALLERS PER WEEK.	Number of Replies	AVERAGE NUMBER OF WOMEN CALLERS PER WEEK.	Number of Replies
One,	48	One,	28
Two,	9	Two,	39
Three,	5	Three,	29
Four,	-	Four,	13
Five,	2	Five,	3
Six,	1	Six,	3
Seven,	-	Seven,	2
Few,	12	Few,	13
Not any,	118	Not any,	64
Unknown,	36	Unknown,	37
TOTAL,	231	TOTAL,	231

Out of the entire number of instances covered, namely 231, there are 118 in which no men callers are reported, and 64 in which the same

reply is made as to women. In 51 instances, including 13 cooks, 22 in general housework, three second girls, and 13 parlor and chamber maids, etc., it was reported that the employés had neither men nor women callers.

Where are visitors received? The reply in 150 cases is "the kitchen;" two reply "in her room;" 28 say "in the kitchen or her room." The other answers are various but in the main indicate either the kitchen, the laundry, or the rear piazza, separately, or in combination. In one case the reply is "the parlor," in one, "the sewing room," and in a few, "the dining room."

In the majority of instances the privilege of visitors is confined to the kitchen. How is it furnished? Does it contain furnishings beyond those necessary to its business uses? To this no reply was given in 32 cases; in 13, the kitchen is said to contain only "necessities." In 97 cases the replies specify rocking chairs and a bright table cloth; 15 say "pleasant and comfortable;" 14 specify rocking chairs only; 15 include shaded lamps with the rocking chairs and ornamental table cloth; nine others say "rocking chairs and reading lamp;" a few have potted plants; others have sash curtains, still others, few in number, a book case or pictures. Excluding the 32 cases in which the question was unanswered, the replies indicate that in 93.47 per cent of the remaining instances something is added to the kitchen furnishings beyond the actual requirements of the household work. Or if it be assumed, as may possibly be true, that in the 32 cases in which the question was unanswered there were no furnishings other than the necessary kitchen furniture, and that these should be included with the 13 in which this condition was explicitly stated, then in 80.52 per cent of the cases additional furniture was reported. Usually this addition is confined to a rocking chair and a bright cover for the table, converting the apartment into the semblance of a sitting room; but in a limited number of cases this similarity is further developed by the introduction of plants, pictures, or books.

What opportunity, if any, is given the domestic servant to do her personal sewing, dressmaking, etc.? This question was asked, although not exactly in these terms. The replies indicated that this work was done by hand in 103 cases; although the use of the family sewing machine was allowed in 52 cases. In some others sewing machines owned by relatives of the servant were used by her. In 13 cases the sewing was done for her on the family machine.

As to the ability of the servant to cut and make her own clothes, 40 say that such work is done fairly well, and 84 others that it is done very well; 29 others reply that it is confined to working dresses and aprons; six do mending only; 27 do not sew at all; nine had no ability in this direction; and 16 do very little. The question was not answered in 18 instances.

Passing to a consideration of the time of the domestic servant spent out of the house, we note, first, an entire lack of uniformity

or system as to the amount of such time which is allowed. It is impossible to make a tabular presentation of the off-time, so-called. The larger number seem to have the afternoons and evenings of Thursday and Sunday away from the house, but in lieu of this regular arrangement many seem to be permitted to take evenings out whenever it will not seriously disarrange the affairs of the family. Others have every other Sunday and an evening or several evenings during the week. Still others have the regular Thursday and Sunday afternoon and evening off, and other evenings, and even occasional afternoons, as may be arranged or agreed upon from time to time between the employer and the servant. In 12 cases the reply as to time spent out of the house was "very little." On the other hand, three replies are "all that she wishes."*

In summarizing the information as to the use made of the time out of the house, the following table is introduced showing the replies made to a question respecting club or association membership on the part of the servant:

Attendance upon Clubs, etc., by Employés.

CLASSIFICATION OF REPLIES BY KINDS OF CLUBS.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
Benefit club,	-	1	-	-	1
Charity club,	-	-	1	-	1
Church girls' club,	-	1	-	-	1
Dramatic,	-	-	-	1	1
Girls' Friendly Society,	1	-	-	-	1
Hospital aid,	1	-	-	-	1
Kings' Daughters,	-	-	-	1	1
Literary club,	-	1	-	-	1
Loyal Ladies Clan McGregor,	-	1	-	-	1
Loyal Ladies Orange Lodge,	-	1	-	-	1
Nova Scotia club,	-	-	-	1	1
Order of Foresters,	-	1	-	-	1
Order of Good Templars,	-	1	-	-	1
Rebecca Odd Fellows and Good Templars,	-	1	-	-	1
Scottish clans,	-	-	1	-	1
Servant girls' club,	-	1	-	-	1
Union for Industrial Progress,	-	-	1	-	1
Working girls' clubs,	-	-	1	1	2
Y. P. S. C. E.,	-	1	-	-	1
None,	38	78	14	27	157
Unknown,	14	28	6	6	54
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

The table is chiefly interesting as establishing the fact that this form of social intercourse does not include many of the employés. In 157 cases no club or association membership is indicated; although in 54 other cases the facts were not known. Working girls' clubs include but two.

In a few cases classes of various kinds are attended, as shown in the following table:

* The subject of Hours of Labor in Domestic Service is particularly referred to in Bulletin No. 8, October, 1898. A reprint of the article can also be supplied by the W. E. and I. Union of Boston.

Attendance upon Classes, etc., by Employés.

CLASSIFICATION OF REPLIES BY KINDS OF CLASSES.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
Cooking,	3	4	-	-	7
Dressmaking,	-	1	1	-	2
Evening school,	-	1	1	1	3
Evening drawing school,	-	1	-	-	1
Sewing,	-	-	-	1	1
Singing,	-	-	1	-	1
None,	38	74	12	28	152
Unknown,	13	35	9	7	64
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

As in the case of clubs and associations the number known to attend classes of the kinds specified is very limited, and 152 out of the 231 do not attend at all.

Lectures and entertainments of various kinds are attended with greater or less frequency. The replies indicating this are summarized in the next table.

Frequency of Attendance upon Lectures and Entertainments.

CLASSIFICATION OF REPLIES.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
Once a week,	4	4	-	2	10
Frequently,	4	7	2	3	16
Occasionally,	12	25	4	10	51
Seldom,	14	13	2	4	33
Never,	2	3	1	1	7
Unknown,	18	64	15	17	114
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

The frequency of attendance is reported as unknown in 114 cases, and in seven others the servant is said never to attend. In 33 cases she seldom attends, and in only 26 of the known instances can attendance be termed other than occasional. The specification of kinds of lectures and entertainments attended does not admit of tabular presentation owing to the variety shown in the replies. Church affairs seem to be prominent, as already appears from our previous consideration of that subject. Occasional dances are mentioned in 12 replies; the theatre and concerts in others, while the remaining instances comprise these and picnics, fairs, and parties of different sorts, in combinations almost as various as the number of answers.

The time spent out of the house other than in the ways mentioned is, in the majority of cases, devoted to visiting friends or relatives. Part of it is devoted to shopping, in a few cases walking, or riding upon the open electric cars in summer is mentioned as a form of recreation, and in one instance "caring for her flowers" is said to absorb the time not

otherwise accounted for under other heads. It was asked if the servant owned or used a bicycle. The answer, in 204 cases out of the 231 was no. The facts were reported as unknown in 12; in six, a bicycle was owned; in four, borrowed; and in five, hired.

An inquiry which may be said to bear upon the economic condition of the servants, as distinct from their social condition, related to savings or surplus earnings and was included with the others. This inquiry may be subdivided so as to show, first, whether or not the employé had money in the savings bank, and second, whether or not surplus earnings were used for the support of others. The responses upon the first point are given in the following table:

Has Employé Money in the Savings Bank?

CLASSIFICATION OF REPLIES.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
No reply,	3	8	4	5	20
Unknown,	3	10	1	6	20
Yes,	42	70	16	14	142
No, but has life insurance,	-	1	-	-	1
No,	6	25	3	12	46
Think not,	-	2	-	-	2
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

It will be seen that in a large number of the known cases the employé had savings deposited in the bank. In only 46 cases the answer was simply no. In one other the reply was no, but in lieu of a bank account life insurance was provided. As to whether relatives or others were helped out of earnings the next table is conclusive.

Are Earnings used to assist Others?

CLASSIFICATION OF REPLIES.	CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE				Number Employed
	Cooks	General Housework	Parlor and Chamber Maids, etc.	Second Girls	
No reply,	3	2	4	1	10
Unknown,	7	13	1	3	24
Yes, without other specification,	11	31	8	4	54
Loans to friends,	-	1	-	-	1
Educates a brother,	-	1	-	-	1
Father helped,	-	2	-	-	2
Mother helped,	3	7	1	5	16
Pays rent for her family,	-	1	-	-	1
Grandmother helped,	-	1	-	-	1
Supports husband and three children,	-	1	-	-	1
Family helped,	1	3	-	1	5
Supports, partly, two grandchildren,	-	1	-	-	1
Husband helped,	1	-	-	-	1
Sister helped,	2	-	-	1	3
Brother helped,	1	-	-	-	1
Sends money home,	14	20	2	11	47
No assistance to others,	11	32	8	11	62
TOTALS,	54	116	24	37	231

In 62 cases the reply upon the point covered by this table was no. In 24 instances the facts were unknown. In 10 others no reply was given. In all the others financial help, chiefly to relatives, was given by the employé. That is to say, disregarding the unknown and unresponsive cases, there remain 197 domestic servants for whom the facts upon this point were given. Of these, 68.53 per cent aided others with their earnings; and, referring again to the antecedent table, disregarding as before the unknown and unresponsive cases, there are 191, of whom 74.87 per cent possessed savings in the bank.

It is not intended, in this article, to do more than summarize the results of the investigation. They explain themselves, tell their own story, and therefore no especial comment is required. The group of domestics covered by the inquiries is probably fairly typical. After discussing fully the economic conditions which affect domestic employment, especially irregularity of hours, indefiniteness of duties, social stigma, etc., Prof. Mary Roberts Smith, in the Forum, used these words with respect to efforts in behalf of the elevation of women employed in household service:

Whatever is done for manners or morals must be done, as for other working girls, by establishing friendly relations with them, and by winning them to more refined conceptions of life. The want of rational social pleasures and of opportunity for self-education is the result of all the conditions just discussed, to which must be added the one most fatal of all, namely, the want of aspiration. With the improvement of other conditions, this will remedy itself. But the desire for some social and intellectual recreation may be stimulated through clubs, books, and amusements. To all these the mistress can at least contribute the stimulus of her own culture and friendly interest.

How far this stimulus is needed, to what extent it might be applied, may perhaps be indicated by the information we have presented.





